

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 AID-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00 COME-00

EB-11 FRB-02 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 CIEP-02 SPC-03

STR-08 TRSE-00 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 SCI-06 FEA-02

INT-08 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSC-10 PA-04 PRS-01

SS-20 SAM-01 IO-14 NEA-11 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 DRC-01 /195 W

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O R 010140Z JAN 74

FM USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6374

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSH THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION OECD PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 EC BRUSSELS 0652

STATE ALSO FOR T/IEP

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG, EEC, US

SUBJ: ENERGY: COMMISSION REACTION TO US VIEWS ON WASHINGTON

ENERGY CONVERENCE

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REF: A) STATE 19381

B) EC BRUSSELS 619

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. GENERAL REACTION IN THE COMMISSION (WITH ONE EXCEPTION) TO US VIEWS CONTAINED IN REFTEL A IS THAT WE SEEM TO HAVE "ESCALATED" THE DEGREE TO WHICH SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ARE TO BE DEALT WITH AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. THEY HAD BEEN WORKING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THIS INITIAL MEETING WOULD BE DEVOTED TO A GENERAL POLITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES AND THE FUTURE WORK PROGRAM AND PROCEDURES. THEIR FEAR IS THAT THIS "SHIFT" WILL MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE COMMUNITY TO AGREE ON A COMMON POSITION FOR THE CONFERENCE AND WILL GIVE THE FRENCH ANOTHER POSSIBILITY FOR CAUSING TROUBLE. THEY ALSO FEEL THAT THE LACK OF DETAILED PROPOSALS FOR BRINGING IN THE LDC'S PROMPTLY WILL CAUSE PROBLEMS IN THE FEBRUARY 4-5 COUNCIL MEETING. IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS COMMISSIONERS SOAMES AND GUNDELACH RECOGNIZED THAT THE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM HAD BECOME MUCH MORE APPARENT SINCE THE SECRETARY'S DECEMBER 12 SPEECH. THEY ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE VALUE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON ENERGY IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO HAVE A GOOD SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOME TO THE CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING A CALL ON EC COMMISSION VICE PRESIDENT SOAMES ON JANUARY 31 (SIMONET WAS OUT OF TOWN), SOAMES GAVE AMBASSADOR GREENWALD HIS REACTION TO THE US VIEWS ON THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE WHICH WE CONVEYED TO THE COMMISSION ON JAN 30 IN ACCORDANCE WITH REFTEL A. SOAMES DISPLAYED DISQUIET AND CONCERN OVER WHAT HE FELT TO BE A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE NATURE AND FORMAT OF THE CONFERENCE. HE SAID THAT EUROPEANS HAVE THE IMPRESSION FROM THE SECRETARY'S PILGRIMS SPEECH AND THE PRESIDENT'S LETTERS OF INVITATION THAT THEY WERE BEING ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF HOW TO BEGIN INTERNATIONAL ENERGY COOPERATION. HE SAID THE COMMUNITY HAD HAD SOME DIFFICULTIES IN RESPONDING TO OUR INITIATIVE BUT HAD BEEN ABLE TO RESOLVE THEM AND HE PERSONALLY HAD HOPED THAT EUROPE WOULD PARTICIPATE FULLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY IN THE CONFERENCE. NOW, SOAMES CLAIMED, THE US VIEWS ABOUT THE CONFERENCE AGENDA AND SCENARIA RAISED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS.

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3. SOAMES SAID HE WAS IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SUGGESTION TO INCLUDE FINANCE MINISTERS. HE HAD APPARENTLY INADVERTENTLY MISLED THE COMMISSION; HE HAD TOLD THEM DURING THEIR PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE CONFERENCE THAT FINANCE MINISTERS WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED. THE PROPOSED INCLUSION OF FINANCE MINISTERS AND PRESUMABLY A MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY ASPECTS CONFRONTS THE COMMUNITY WITH EVEN MORE DIFFICULTIES IN ITS PREPARATIONS, DESPITE THE FACT--WHICH

HE ACKNOWLEDGED--THAT THE COMMISSION'S OWN PAPER ON THE CONFERENCE HAD STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY CONSIDERATIONS. HE HAD ASSUMED FROM THE EARLIER STATEMENTS AND FROM THE INSISTENCE UPON THE PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGN MINISTERS THAT IT WOULD BE WHAT HE CALLED A "TALKABOUT" TYPE OF CONFERENCE. THAT IS, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD DISCUSS THE POLITICAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS AND THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND COME UP WITH A FUTURE PROCEEDURE AND WORK PROGRAM. THERE WOULD, OF COURSE, BE SOME SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS BUT BECAUSE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD NOT GO DEEPLY INTO THESE MATTERS, IT WOULD BE MAINLY A TASK OF DECIDING HOW THEY SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY THE COMPETENT PEOPLE. IN OTHER WORDS, HE HAD SEEN THE CONFERENCE AS A MODEST FIRST STEP ON THE ROAD OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

4. AMBASSADOR GREENWALD REPLIED THAT WE HAD STRESSED THE PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGN MINISTERS BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED--BOTH WITH RESPECT TO ENERGY ITSELF AND WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US. BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE HAD ALSO STRESSED THAT WE MUST HAVE MEANINGFUL SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS AT THE CONFERENCE. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THIS WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE USEFULNESS OF MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. THE AGENDA WE HAVE PROPOSED DOES NOT SUGGEST NOR DO WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN SETTLE ALL PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH ENERGY AT THIS SINGLE CONFERENCE. BUT WE HOPE THAT THE PARTICIPANTS CAN FORMULATE SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES AT THE CONFERENCE WHICH WILL GUIDE US IN SUBSEQUENT STAGES OF THE INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SHIFT IN EMPHASIS IN THE ENERGY FIELD FROM SUPPLY PROBLEMS TO CONCERN ABOUT PRICES AND THEIR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES. IN FACT, COMMISSIONER SIMONET HAD INDICATED EARLIER THAT THE COMMISSION

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HAD WANTED TO HAVE MORE EMPHASIS ON MONETARY CONSIDERATIONS AND HE FELT WE WERE THEREFORE THINKING ALONG PARALLEL LINES. AMBASSADOR GREENWALD SAID THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE US DELEGATION WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN THE COMMISSION LAST WEEK CLEARLY INDICATED THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACHED TO THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS.

5. HANNAY, SOAMES' CHEF DE CABINET, SAID THAT THE FEELING IN THE COMMISSION HAD BEEN THAT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE WOULD FALL SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN A PROCEDURAL AND A SUBSTANTIVE MEETING BUT, IN ANY CASE, WOULD NOT BE SO SPECIFIC AS THE US AGENDA INDICATED. TO ASK THE RESPONSIBLE MINISTERS, AS OUR VIEWS SUGGEST, TO SIT DOWN AROUND A TABLE AND DISCUSS MORE SPECIFIC TOPICS IS A DIFFERENT MATTER. THE COMMUNITY WOULD NOT HAVE A COMMON POSITION ON MOST OF THE SUBJECTS

WHICH THE FINANCE MINSTERS WOULD WISH TO DISCUSS. SOAMES  
ADDED THAT FINANCE MINISTERS WOULD NOT BE AT THE FEBRUARY 4-5  
MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WHEN THE COMMUNITY'S POSITION FOR THE  
WASHINGTON CONFERENCE IS ADOPTED, AND WOULD THEREFORE BE  
UNABLE TO PREPARE THEMSELVES COLLECTIVELY.

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STATE ALSO FOR T/IEP

6. SOAMES THEN SUMMED UP THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HE SEES WITH OUR VIEWS. HE SAID HE KNEW FROM THE START THAT THE COMMUNITY WOULD HAVE A DIFFICULT TASK IN PREPARING ITS POSITION FOR WASHINGTON. THE US PROPOSALS MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT RATHER THAN EASIER FOR THE COMMUNITY TO PREPARE  
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ITSELF. " I HAD HOPED WE WOULD START OUT ON THIS PATH WITH A FEW STRIDES," SOAMES SAID AND ADDED THAT AN OVERLY AMBITIOUS PROGRAM FOR THE CONFERENCE AT THE OUTSET RISKED THE DANGER OF FAILURE WHICH WOULD MAKE THE RESULTING DIFFICULTY IN ACHIEVING BROADER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION EVEN GREATER.

7. SOAMES CONTINUED THAT THE LATEST US VIEWS GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF AN ESCALATION, WHETHER INTENDED OR NOT. THE COMMUNITY HAD THOUGHT THAT CERTAIN PROPOSALS WERE ON THE TABLE, IT HAD DISCUSSED THOSE PROPOSALS IN THE JANUARY 14-15 COUNCIL MEETING, AND HAD DECIDED THAT THE COMMUNITY AND THE MEMBER STATES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE. THE COMMUNITY'S ABILITY TO ACCEPT THE WASHINGTON INVITATION WAS IN TRUTH PARTLY DUE TO THE FACT THAT FEW DETAILS WERE AVAILABLE REGARDING THE CONFERENCE AGENDA. NOW, THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE COMMUNITY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DEVELOP A POSITION ON SUCH A DETAILED AGENDA. FURTHERMORE, IT WILL GIVE OPPONENTS OF THE CONFERENCE A NEW DEBATING POINT. SOAMES PREDICTED JOBERT, AT NEXT MONDAY'S COUNCIL MEETING, WOULD CITE THE LATEST US VIEWS TO CLAIM THAT WE WERE CHANGING THE NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE. IF THE ORIGINAL INVITATION HAD BEEN MENTIONED BOTH FOREIGN AND FINANCE MINISTERS, THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN, BUT THE SITUATION WOULD HAVE BEEN CLEAR.

8. AMBASSADOR GREENWALD POINTED OUT THAT THE INCREASED EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH THE COMMISSION NOW FINDS IN OUR VIEWS ON THE AGENDA REFLECTS THE DRASTIC INCREASE IN CRUDE OIL PRICES SINCE THE PILGRIMS SPEECH. OUR SUGGESTED FORMAT IS SIMPLY A REFLECTION OF CURRENT CONDITIONS. IT IS OBVIOUS TO ALL CONCERNED THAT ENERGY MATTERS TODAY ARE NOT JUST PROBLEMS OF SUPPLY, BUT ARE MORE AND MORE CONCERNED WITH THE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRICE INCREASES. TO USE SOAMES' OWN WORDS, THE ESCALATION WHICH HAS OCCURRED HAS BEEN IN THE PRICE SCALE AND WE HAVE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF THAT IN OUR AGENDA SUGGESTIONS. SOAMES ADMITTED THE VALIDITY OF THIS ARGUMENT AND SAID HE WOULD USE IT ON HIS COMMISSION COLLEAGUES.

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9. PRIOR TO SEEING SOAMES THE AMBASSADOR HAD LUNCHEDED WITH COMMISSIONER GUNDELACH WHO HAD A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT REACTION. GUNDELACH SAID HE HAD BEEN ARGUING ALL ALONG IN THE COMMISSION THAT THE REAL ISSUE IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE THE TRADE AND FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WORLD ENERGY SITUATION. HE TOOK THE POSITION THAT THE MONETARY SECTION OF THE COMMISSION PAPER, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH THE COMMISSION DOCUMENT ON THE INTERNAL ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE ENERGY CRISIS (EC BRUSSELS 608), PROVIDED AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR THE COMMUNITY'S PARTICIPATION IN THAT ASPECT OF THE CONFERENCE AGENDA. GUNDELACH WAS CONCERNED THAT THE COMMISSION SHOULD NOT TRY TO MODIFY ITS PAPER FOR THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AT THIS STAGE. HE CONSIDERS THAT IT IS FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ALLOW THE COMMUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION APPARENTLY DESIRED BY THE USG.

10. GUNDELACH CONSIDERS THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM WITH THE MEMBER STATES WILL BE TO AVOID HAVING THE COMMISSION'S PAPER WATERED DOWN TO DEAL ONLY WITH THE BROAD POLITICAL ISSUE AND WITH PROCEDURE. THIS WILL OBVIOUSLY BE THE THRUST OF THE FRENCH EFFORT, AND IT WILL BE UP TO THE OTHER EIGHT TO RESIST IT. GUNDELACH BELIEVES THE GERMANS WILL BE THE KEY TO HOW THE COMMUNITY COMES OUT. IF THE GERMANS HOLD FAST IN SUPPORT OF THE COMMISSION PAPER WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATION, THEN THE REST OF THE EIGHT WILL FOLLOW ALONG. IF THE GERMANS ARE NOT FIRM, THEN THE FRENCH MAY SUCCEED.

11. THE OTHER DANGER WHICH GUNDELACH SAW WAS THAT THE FRENCH WOULD EXPLOIT THE ABSENCE IN OUR VIEWS PRESENTED THUS FAR OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR BRINGING IN THE LDCE. HE WAS SURE THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS SUFFICIENTLY SENSITIZED TO THIS ISSUE TO HAVE IT WELL IN MIND. BUT IT HAD NOT COME OUT CLEARLY IN THE FIRST PRESENTATION OF US VIEWS, AND HE HOPED THAT THIS OMISSION WOULD BE QUICKLY CORRECTED. AS HE SAW IT, AN ADEQUATE POSITION ON THE LDCE WAS THE ONLY REAL GAP BETWEEN THE PRESENT US LINE AND THE PROPOSED COMMUNITY POSITION AS REFLECTED IN THE COMMISSION PAPER.

12. SEVERAL OTHER OFFICIALS, INCLUDING ASSISTANTS TO  
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ORTOLI AND SIMONET, HAVE ALSO COMMENTED TO US THAT WE SEEMED TO PLAY DOWN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LDC ISSUE--WITH A SINGLE MENTION IN THE PROPOSED AGENDA. WE HAVE REPLIED THAT THE

PRESIDENT'S LETTERS OF INVITATION, AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS  
BY THE SECRETARY, MAKE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THE US  
DOES NOT INTEND TO EXCLUDE LDCS (CONSUMERS OR PRODUCERS).

13. SOME COMMISSION OFFICIALS HAVE NOTED THAT, IN SUGGESTING  
WORKING GROUPS, WE MENTIONED FOREIGN AND FINANCE "MINISTERS"  
BUT ENERGY AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY "OFFICIALS." THEY  
WONDERED IF THIS WAS INTENDED TO INDICATE WE DESIRE A  
DIFFERENT LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION. WE RESPONDED THAT SENIOR  
OFFICERS OF THE US GOVERNMENT HAVING PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY  
IN SOME OF THE FIELDS INVOLVED DO NOT HOLD CABINET POSTS  
BUT THAT THIS SHOULD NOT CREATE PROTOCOL PROBLEMS OR INHIBIT  
PARTICIPATION BY INDIVIDUALS FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS WHO HAVE  
MINISTERIAL RANK.

14. COMMENT: PART OF SOAMES' REACTION CAN BE TRACED TO  
HIS PERSONAL EMBARRASSMENT AT HAVING APPARENTLY BEEN OFF  
BASE IN THE COMMISSION DEBATES. NEVERTHELESS, THE CONCERNS  
HE EXPRESSED WERE GENUINE AND SEEM TO BE SHARED BY OTHERS.  
TO THE EXTENT WE CAN, IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO SPELL OUT  
IN GREATER DETAIL HOW FAR WE THINK THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION  
CAN BE CARRIED AT THE FEBRUARY 11 CONFERENCE. THERE SEEMS  
TO BE A RATHER CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE FOREIGN  
MINISTERS, ENERGY OFFICIALS, AND RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY  
OFFICIALS WILL DO; THERE IS A LESS PRECISE VIEW OF WHAT  
THE FINANCE MINISTERS WILL BE ABLE TO DO.

15. ONE OTHER MAIN PROBLEM RELATES TO LDC INVOLVEMENT AND  
ANY SPECIFICITY WE CAN ADD ON METHOD AND TIMING OF BRINGING  
IN THE LDCS WOULD BE HELPFUL. GREENWALD

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## Message Attributes

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